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ABSTRACT

The paper presents a detailed overview of educational policymaking and discusses the need for minority groups to be involved in policy formation. The first section describes the distinguishing characteristics of the main elements of the functions of administration and policymaking process. The second section examines the following three models of policymaking: the elite, group, and rational models. Twelve characteristics of public policymaking are discussed including complexity, dynamic process, decision making, action promotion, future orientation, and public interest. In the last section, the integral role that social science research has played in the development of educational policy is analyzed. It is emphasized that minority communities need to be cognizant of how policymakers use selected social science research as a basis for significant legal and policymaking decisions. Discussion focuses on the concerns minority communities have in relation to steps necessary to make educational policy more responsive to the minority community. To effect change in educational policy the minority community needs to: (1) become actively involved and knowledgeable of educational policy and its direct effect on the minority community; (2) initiate and facilitate action with and through the community and educational system; (3) maintain an open line of communication with local, state, and national representatives in government; (4) be concerned about social science research; and (5) conduct empirical research and synthesize other research. (DB)

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AN ANALYSIS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY:

IMPLICATIONS FOR MINORITY COMMUNITY CONCERNS*

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INTRODUCTION

Since Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas[1] social science research has had a direct influence on educational policy development, in these United States. It is not surprising that social science research is replete with instances of irrelevance and confusion, together with unsound methodology, resulting in little improvement of the educative process. Since the majority of the children in this country attend public schools, educators frequently fail to understand the views of minority parents.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the relationship between educational policy and minority community concerns; more specifically, to examine the perceptions held by minority community leaders concerning the role of social science research on policy development.

Throughout the paper, the definition of educational policy includes both professional and non-professional input. Additionally, for this paper's purpose, the definitions of management and administration will be synonomous, to mean (1) those individuals responsible for the determination of organizational goals; and, (2) those charged with the responsibility of facilitating the operations of the organization toward those established goals.

POLICYMAKING PROCESS

The formulation of educational policies involves the utilization of rather complex decision-making systems. These systems are often utilized in improving the substantive content of an educational systems institutional decision-making-processes. The condition of this structural relationship contextually determines the level of symmetry that exists between an educational systems functional objectives and the informed publics subjective interpretation of a particular policy's construct validity.

Assessments of the construct validity of a given policy tends however, to require a policymaking system to respond to structurally diverse interpretations of a particular policy's level of systemic significance.

Structurally, the diverseness of these inputs conditions the level of functional consistency and leverage that can be associated with a given policy or its alternatives. Policy alternatives are intended to provide sets of optionally patterned conceptual or procedural specifications that can be applied to a given pattern of organizational activity. The functional significance of these alternatives is clearly linked to the paradigm that is structured by the organizational approach to a given policy problem.

Policymaking is often interpreted as an administrative activity that affords to delineate and integrate variables that can be applied to a measured assessment of a policy's level of control over the decision systems long-range institutionally prescribed objectives. To better understand

educational policy formulation, it is imperative that one understands the policymaking process.

Policymaking has been studied extensively. Michael Cohen has given ample coverage in his remarks concerning policymaking.

> First the institutional networks through which policies pass can fruitfully be viewed as political processes. Meaning that policies often generate divergent interest and opinions which should be adjusted in order for agreement to be reached. For two reasons, other ways of proceeding are usually closed. One of these reasons is the interest and opinions which are usually backed by independent sources of power, including institutions, experts, and allies. Another is that all the interests and opinions may have some claim to legitimacy. Consequently, reaching agreement depends upon mutually adjusting the difference by such means as negotiating compromises and bargains, which is the essence of the political process.[2]

Policymaking is not to be used in the singular sense because there are policies which initiate new programs and policies which revise existing ones.[3]

Cohen further indicates that policies often derive from existing policies, in other words "from what is already there." He further implies that policy revision or replacement is the outgrowth of activities internal to the process itself.[4] Specialized units are formulated to:

1. Administer policies and quite often consider and suggest revisions.
2. Reintroduce revisions of proposals which were defeated earlier.
3. Units designed to search out, formulate and suggest revisions and innovations.

"Policymaking is an on-going process where the ground was broken long ago, and where the process for searching out and proposing innovations and revisions are well developed and institutionalized."[5]

Making Policy Decisions

Lindbloom discusses two distinct ways of making policy decisions. The two methods are: Rational-Comprehensive (Root) and Successive Limited Comparisons (Branch).[6]

A. Rational-Comprehensive (Root):

1. Clarification of values or objectives distinct from and usually prerequisite to empirical analysis of alternative policies.
2. Policy-formulation is therefore approached though means to achieve them are sought.
3. The test of a "good" policy is that it can be shown to be the most appropriate means to a desired end.
4. Analysis is comprehensive, every important relevant factor is taken into account.
5. Theory is often heavily relied upon.

B. Successive Limited Comparison (Branch):

1. Selection of value goals and empirical analysis of the needed action are not distinct from one another but are closely intertwined.
2. Since means and end are not distinct, means-end analysis is often inappropriate or limited.
3. The test of a "good" policy is typically that various analysts find themselves directly agreeing on a policy (without their agreeing that it is the most appropriate means to an agreed objective).

4. Analysis is drastically limited:
   (a) Important possible outcomes are neglected.
   (b) Important alternatives potential policies are neglected.
   (c) Important affected values are neglected.
5. A succession of comparisons greatly reduces or eliminates reliance on theory.

Linbloom makes the comment that the first of these methods or approaches would be impossible for large scale problems but very appropriate for relatively simple ones. The second approach is most commonly used by administrators and management.[7]

As indicated, making policy is a difficult process. Consideration was given to one who illustrates wisdom in making policy such as, "his policies will achieve only part of what he hopes and at the same time will produce unanticipated consequences he would have preferred to avoid."[8]

In summation, policies are elements that change through modification and redesign. "Policymaking is a process of successive approximation to some desired objectives in which what is desired itself continues to change under reconsideration." Educational policy is not made in a vacuum. The policymaking process can be structured to provide the organization with administrative guidelines that are structured to provide substantive information that pertains to the contextual range of a particular educational policy problem area. Specificity in the identification of a given problem, area, level of issue, and policy significance tends to determine the substantive content of a given policy issue area. This fact and its attendent correlates tend to structure the character of a given policy's problems degree of institutional significance.

Managerial-Administrative Function

As we discuss the functions of management/administration in the policymaking process, we must consequently discuss the various aspects of administrators functioning within the educational system. Much has been written relative to the theory of the administrators function and we will discuss them briefly.

"Unfortunately, little can be briefly communicated about minimizing the burdens and maximizing the opportunities of stressful situations that will face all managers making decisions."[9] Inevitably, the educational administrator will find himself reacting to stressful conditions as he makes decisions. An administrator's work associates undoubtedly will learn about his skill and style in coping with the exceptional and the trying.[10]

As Likert has noted, "Perhaps the most critical managerial act involves the degree of success with which supervisors act as "linking pins."[11] Most observers of management stress the importance and the delicacy of the mediating activities of the "man in the middle."[12] An organization and it's members are what they are by the influence of the "linking process."[13] A successful administrator tends to extract the inevitable things of value in even the most stressful situation.

The manager has absolute confidence when he believes all removable uncertainty may lead him to believe that his decisions involve risk.[14] Although we assume that managers (adminstrators) make decisions rationally, there are limits upon their rationality as discussed by Downs:[15]

1. Each decision maker can devote only a limited amount of time to decision making.

2. Each decision maker can mentally weigh and consider only a limited amount of information at one time.
3. The functions of most (administrators) require them to become involved in more activities than they can consider simultaneously; hence, they must normally focus their attention on only part of their major concerns, while the rest remains latent.[16]
4. The amount of information initially available to every decision maker about each problem is only a small fraction of all the information potentially available on the subject.
5. Additional information bearing on any particular problem can usually be procured but the costs of procurement and utilization may rise rapidly as the amount of data increases.
6. Important aspects of many problems involved information that cannot be procured at all, especially concerning future events. Hence, many decisions must be made on the fact of some ineradicable uncertainty.

It should be made clear that, administrators cannot do all the work involved in these functions. Generally, he concerns himself with initiating these activities and with making final decisions concerning them. Much of the actual work is delegated to subordinates.

The contemporary administrator faces new challenges in the complex social environment in which he now finds himself. And, to survive in the field of educational administration, a school administrator must act as a major agent of change in directing his organization. The main task for administrators at all levels in school systems, is to make continuing efforts to improve their abilities. Today's problems, being complex and ever changing,

requires an updated, constantly improving preparation.

As we see it, administrators have four specific activities that they are responsible for:

1. Standards of accountability, i.e., he establishes measuring sticks for production.
2. Measures work in progress, i.e., keeping records.
3. Interpreting results, i.e., evaluation in terms of standards.
4. Taking corrective action, i.e., administrators decide what to do when variations take place.[17]

In essence, our complex society and environment greatly affects the administrator in his decision-making process, just as it affects the policy-making decisions of the administrator. Surely, the administrator must be cognizant of the role he or she must play in the socio-political system of schools.[18] It is increasingly apparent that the role of administrator is being changed by many other factors as well as those mentioned. "Among these are inflation, human rights, affirmative action, military involvement on a global scale, and other local, state, and national issues. The need for an administrator who can make broad, integrative decisions is magnified by the potentially explosive matters. A sense of urgency is present because each day seems to bring even more challenging problems that must be successfully resolved."[19]

A brief look at the varying concepts of administrative or managerial functions shows that a variety of disciplines have contributed to the ever increasing knowledge of management. Behavioral scientists, economists, mathematicians, politicians, ministers, soldiers, educators, and physical

scientists have all contributed to the development of management, both as a science and as an art.

The first writers were practioners who described personal experiences, which were generalized to broad principles. These writers were mainly pragmatists who wanted to share with others the practices that worked for them. On the other hand, there were other writers whose interest in administration was solely scientific. Between these extremes of pragmatism and scientism (theory), there are a great many others who contributed to the literature on administration. Their professional backgrounds draw a broad spectrum of disciplines including sociology, psychology, law, education, mathematics, and political science.

For the purpose of this paper, administration is defined as the taking charge by individuals with the persuasiveness and intellect to get a job accomplished through the efforts of others. Administration formulates, interprets, defends, and supports policy. The administrator devises means to reach objectives accomplished through the efforts of humans. Human productivity under the guidance of administrators becomes the means to an end. The end quite often becomes policy. Administration influences policy in a direct fashion. Administration recommends policies to assist the organization in its efforts to function.

In summary, this section sets up a framework that is intended to be used in thinking about the subject of educational administration, planning and control systems. Moreover, described in some detail is the distinguishing characteristics of the main elements of the functions of administration and the policymaking process.

Policy Process Models

Policy process models tend to structurally define and assist the policymaking system in identifying the contextual range and applicablility of a given problem's issue area level of systemic applicability. Process models are constructed to provide decision systems with contextually specific analytical correlates that define the steps in the policy process. Most process models appear to be the steps in the process by subjectively assigning methodological parameters to the steps in the policy process. Below is a diagramatic representation of the steps and dynamics of the processes as they are applied to the four basic models.

(SEE) MODEL OF THE POLICY PROCESS

The policy significance of these process models is testable in normative situational analyses that are structured to test the policy significance of a given problem level of systemic significance. The policy importance of these models places a higher level of stress on the dynamics of the policy system because it requires the decision system to respond to the correlation that exists between the policy issue area and the dynamics of a education systems decision-making process.

Model Theories

The policymaking process can be tested by using three different model theories from Thomas Dye's Understanding Public Policy. Although Dye's book discusses in detail the uses of models in the public sector, we will relate these various models of the policymaking process to the educational system.

The model theories that will be tested and analyzed for use are the Elite Theory, Group Theory, and the Rational Theory.[20]

MODELS OF THE POLICY PROCESS

STEPS IN THE [a] POLICY PROCESS	Rational[b]	Bureaucratic[b]	Political[b]	Decision-Making[c]
Problem Identification	By decision-maker(s), on basis of over-all impact on achievement of national goals.	By officials, in terms of importance to agency goals, interests and resources, with due regard to interests of other agencies	By officials, in terms of nature of issue and possibility of enhancing own power, position and reputation.	By decision-maker(s), in terms of their perception of the issues, the environment and other actors, with due regard to personal, institution and national goals.
Formulation	Alternatives which will cope with problems devised, evaluated in terms of costs and benefits, and chosen by DM on basis of net expectations (output-input).	Policies formulated in terms of factors listed above, according to standardized procedures, with particular reference to use of own resources. Choice on basis of avoidance of loss and minimization of uncertainty, through barganing and alliances.	Policies formulated in terms of position, role and need for power Choice is outcome of "pulling and hauling" among players in the game.	Alternatives defined in terms of goals above, according significance attached to these alternatives but limited by acceptability of means to DM. Choice on basis of net benefits.
Legitimation	Assured by rationality of process; support insured because alternative generating "greatest good" selected.	By outcomes which conform to roles, missions and resources of interested agencies, sanctioned by inter-agency agreement.	Through interactions among players, in which the power of the several players is displayed and (more or less) accepted.	Not spelled out; however, presumably determined by degree of consonance with values of DM, institutional patterns government, structure and norms of society etc.
Application	Under direction of top, DM, in unitary fashion.	According to prescribed administrative patterns frequently in uncoordinated fashion.	By action channels designed to maintain position and power of dominant player(s), frequently in confused fashion.	Not spelled out; however, presumable open on means and methods, as long as these do not violate norms.
Evaluation	In terms of costs and contribution to achievement of goals.	In terms of consonance with preferred behavior patterns and in terms of consequences for position, interests and resources of agencies.	In terms of consequences for power, prestige and influence of players.	In terms of effect on situation, on environment, and on own society.
Resolution/ Termination	When success is achieved, when costs exceed benefits, or when goals are changed	When problems threatens agency's resources or weakens agency's negotiating position.	When players have exhausted potential benefits of issues, when there are changes in power, or when new players enter game.	Because of changes in goals or alterations in situation.

Roles: a The steps are those described by Jones, An Introduction to the Study of Public Policy.

b This model is drawn from Allison, Essence of Decision: The Cuban Missile Crisis.

c This model is from Snyder, Brack and Supin, Foreign Policy Decision-Making.

Dye states, that these models are not to be considered as being in competition, in the sense that any one of them could be judged "best".[21] Before defining each model, one point needs to be made. Each model is merely an abstraction or representation of the everyday policymaking process. "When we think 'elites', or 'rational' decision-making, we are abstracting from the real world in an attempt to simplify, clarify, and understand what is really important about policymaking."[22]

Elite Theory:

Policy as Elite Preference. The few deciding for the masses. The theory implies that the concept of policies reflecting the demands of the people is really a myth. That the masses are apathetic and ill-formed about policy. Preferences of elites shape policy more than preferences of the masses.[23] Dye summarizes the Elite Theory in this manner.

1. Society is divided into few who have power and the many who do not. Only a small number of persons allocated values for society; the masses do not decide policy.

2. The few who govern are not typical of the masses who are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socio-economic strata of society.

3. The movement of nonelites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only nonelites who have accepted the basic elite consensus can be admitted to governing circles.

4. Elites share consensus on behalf of the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system. In America, the bases of elite consensus are the sanctity of private property, limited government, and individual liberty.

5. Public policy does not reflect demands on masses but rather the prevailing values of the elite. Changes in policy will be incremental rather than revolutionary.

6. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites.[24]

Group Theory:

Policy as Group Equilibrium. Portrays public policy at any given time as the equilibrium determined by relative influence of interest. Groups are formed through the combining of common interest by individuals banning together to press their demands formally or informally. As one group makes claims upon other groups, other groups begin to ban together formally or informally to press their demands, counter attacking if you will, to balance out the process. The action in some instances causes a chain reaction throughout the groups.

Policy then becomes the result of groups reaching a point of equilibrium in their struggle. Policymakers are viewed as constantly responding to group pressure - bargaining, negotiating, and compromising, among competing demands of influential groups. Changes in the relative influence of any interest group, can be expected to result in changes in public policy. Policy will move in the direction desired by the groups gaining in influence, and away from the desires of groups losing influence.[25]

Todays educational systems are expected by the public to solve a multitude of problems ranging from racial conflict to producing technicians to continue America's progress in

science and technology. In so many words, almost all of the nation's problems are reflected in demands placed on the nation's schools.[26]

As Dye states, "educational policy not only affects a wide variety of interest, but policy stimulates interest group activity. Among those interest groups affected are teachers, taxpayers, school board members, and school administrators involved in educational policy."[27]

Rational Theory:

A third theory discussed by Dye is defined as: "the policy which is correctly designed to maximize 'net value achievement.' Net value achievement is when all relevant values of society are known and that any sacrifices in values required by a policy is compensated for by attaining other values. Policy becomes rational when it is most efficient, that is if the ratio between the values that it achieves and the values that it sacrifices is positive and higher than any other policy alternative. Efficiency becomes the ratio between valued inputs and values outputs."[28]

In making a rational policy selection, policymakers must: (1) know society's value preferences and their relative weights; (2) know the policy alternatives available; (3) know the consequences of each policy alternative; (4) calculate the ratio of achievement to sacrificed societal values for each policy alternative; and (5) select the most efficient policy

> alternative. This policymaking model requires information about alternative policies, the predictive capacity to foresee accurately the consequences of alternate policies, and the intellignece to calculate correctly the ratio of costs to benefits." Finally, rational policymaking requires a decision-making system which facilitates rationality in policy formation.[29]

As Dye states, we want to understand what is really important about policymaking. Social science research views the three theories as working constantly in the everyday policymaking process. To this end minority communities must fully understand this process. More specifically, these theories have both historical and contemporary implications. It is significant to point out that these theories hold true; but, how applicable are they to the minority issues at hand? We know that the fiber generic to all minorities is that of common discrimination which has tended to bring about unity among minority's civil rights, political power, housing, health and etc.

Furthermore, one may know as the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one Black, one White----separate and unequal." This perception is viewed as metro core versus suburbia; Black versus White; and most importantly, implications for those bent on turning back the hands of time to the Plessy v. Ferguson era.

In summary, this section sets up a framework that is intended to be used in thinking about the subject of educational policymaking, planning, and control systems; describing in some detail, the distinguishing characteristics of the main elements of the functions of administration and the policymaking process.

MODELS OF EDUCATIONAL POLICYMAKING

The organizational structure of educational policymaking, however unique, has not adequately met the voiced concerns of minority communities. However, policymaking as pointed out later in this paper, is common to all organizations. To better understand this, it is imperative that one understands the organizational structure of school policymaking; so let us pause for a bit of background information.

History Revisited

The responsibility of public education in America rests with the state government. The Tenth Amendment states that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the State respectively, or to the people".[30] Since the Federal Constitution does not specifically mention education, then it logically follows that education is a function of the States, and those State constitutions have made provisions for educating its citizenry.

School Policymaking Structure

Within those State provisions comes the authorization for School Boards, "to make reasonable rules and regulations for the government of local schools and the power to enforce such reasonable rules,"[31] herein referred to as school policies. School policy then becomes those legally adopted rules and regulations which govern and control the school systems' daily operations. Such policies, because they are public, are published and made available in particular publications or locations.[32]

The structure of policymaking consists of many different and diverse components, but the main components are: the school board and the Superintendent, appointed by the school board to act as chief administrator for the school system. The Superintendent is the overseer of operations. The Superintendent then has a variety of experts who assist him in meeting his operational obligation.[33]

The type of organizational structure that these components fit into, is described as the central structure because the source of most administrative decisions and actions are from the central office. As a result of these types of organizational structures, a strong central office staff is of prime importance. Each central office staff member must be a specialist in as many areas as the system can provide.

The central office often solicits advice from operational units throughout the system but the structure is such that the central office is still charged with the primary responsibility for designing educational programs and transmitting the required directives to operational administrators and supervisors at the local level to implement those programs. The key communication characteristic to this type of structure is central office to local school units.[34]

As we look at the method in which rules and regulations are communicated, we can make a striking comparison between what the school system is doing and that of public policymaking.

Policymaking Characteristics

In Yehezkel Dror's book on Public Policymaking, he describes twelve characteristics of policymaking in general. Those twelve are:

1. Very complex - Policymaking involves many components, which are interconnected by communication and feedback loops which interact in different ways. Some parts of the process are explicit and directly observable. But, many others proceed by hidden channels so that the actors themselves are often only partly aware of them which makes it very difficult and often impossible to observe. Thus, guidelines are often formed by a series of single decisions that result in a "policy" without any one of the decision makers being aware of that process.
2. Dynamic Process - Policymaking is a continuous activity taking place within a structure. In order to be sustained, it requires a continuing input of resources and motivation. It is a process which changes with time and the consequences of its subprocess and phases vary internally and with respect to each other.
3. Various Components - The complexity of public policymaking is the obverse of another of its characteristics namely, the multiplicity of its components. Nearly all public policymaking involves a great variety of substructures. The identity of these substructures, and the degree of their involvement in policymaking vary among different issues, times and societies. The respective influences of the President and of the Congress of the United States is policymaking in certain areas such as control of the economy and the military which have changed significantly

during the last century. Military elites play an important role in policymaking on civilian issues in many south American states, but rarely participate in such policymaking in western democratic countries. The structures most involved in public policymaking constitute the "political institutions" or "political system" of a society.

4. Make Different Contributions - This characteristic suggests that every substructure makes a different and sometimes unique, contribution to public policy. What sort of contribution substructures make depends somewhat on their formal and informal characteristics, which vary from society to society. In the western democracies, for instance, some aspects of different substructures' contributions to public policy could be generalized (though much over simplified, and intended only to exemplify what he means by "different contributions to public policy").
5. Decides - Policymaking is a species of decision-making. This point is very important, because it lets us use decision-making models for dealing with policymaking. Indeed, these models will be some of his main tools although, they must be used with care since public policymaking is an aggregative form of decision-making and differs in important respects from the discrete decisions that most decision-theory literature deals with.
6. Major Guidelines - Public policy, in most cases, lays down general directives, rather than detailed instruction on

the main lines of action to be followed. It is thus not identical with the games-theory definition of "strategy" as a detailed set of decisions covering all possible situations. The military definition of "strategy" as a general guide for action in contrast to tactics, is closer to what he means by "policy" and is what he will mean when he uses the term "strategy". After main lines of action have been decided on, detailed subpolicies that translate the general policy into more concrete terms are usually needed to execute it. However, what often happens in using another perspective, is that the general policy is built up by a complex, interacting set of secondary policies and decisions. In many cases, these two flows of decision-making from the top down and from the bottom up, proceed simultaneously and even partly overlap. Policy is often partly "formed" and partly "executed" by the same subdecisions. For instance, if a developing country has declared a policy "to encourage all private investment," but in its day-to-day decision-making, provides incentives mainly to private investments in heavy industry, its actual policy is to "encourage private investment mainly in heavy industry". This policy results from high-level decisions. "Specific" or "generally", a public policy seems to be viewed from a higher level, as an execution of a policy by subdecisions and from a lower

level as a policymaking (or as metapolicymaking). This ambiguity makes it impossible to draw clear lines between policymaking, policy execution, and administration.

7. For Action - Decision-making can result in external action, in changes in the decision maker himself, or in both or neither. Suppose a scientist decides to accept some hypotheses as provisionally true. He may then set up a new experiment, change his view of the subject matter, or do both. The policies of most socially significant decision-making such as most public policymaking, are intended to result in action. Also policies directed at the policy-making apparatus itself such as efficiency drives in government, are action-oriented. A special case is policies with the intent to have someone other than the policymaker take action. For example, a policy may be made in order to recruit support. Thus, aggressive declarations against an unpopular, but militarily stronger neighbor, may be intended to make the internal population render support to the policymakers. Another special case is policies directed at preventing some action by an adversary such as the policy of developing second-strike capacity in order to "deter" agression. On the otherhand, such a policy may be declared in order to mislead an opponent, reassure a partner, or be a trial ballon that will test the intentions or reactions of some actors. An even more special case is

"policies" made and promulgated mainly to let the policy-makers themselves vent their emotions; declaring that it will be policy "to emancipate women" in an East Asian Country. This will probably result neither in any action that might lead to such emancipation nor in any additional support, but doing so expresses the beliefs of the policy-makers and helps them feel better. These very important and frequent special cases use the term "policy" but are not policymaking in the substantive sense we are mainly concerned with.

8. Directed at the Future - Policymaking is directed at the future, which is one of its most important characteristics. It introduces the ever present elements of uncertainty and doubtful prediction that establish the basic tone of nearly all policymaking. In particular, because the future is so uncertain, actual policymaking tends to formulate policies in vague and elastic terms to be continuous, so as to adjust policy to whatever the new facts may be; to seek defensibility, and therefore to adopt policies that will probably not have unforeseeable results. This tendency often leads to "incremental policy change", i.e., trying to increase predictability by deviating only, significantly shapes actual policymaking, but is also a major problem that must be faced by the best possible ("optimal") policymaking. The solution will require extensive use of methods for reducing uncertainty and

compensating for it. Such methods must therefore be a main subject of policy science.

9. Mainly Governmental Organs - One of the differences between making private policy and making public policy is that the latter mainly concerns actions to be taken by governmental organs. Of course, this is a matter of degree. Public policy is also directed in part at private persons and non-governmental structures such as when it calls for a law prohibiting a certain type of behavior or appeals to citizens to engage in private savings. But public policy, in most cases is primarily directed at governmental organs and only intermediately or secondarily at other actors.

10. Formally Aimed at Achieving - One characteristic of all contemporary political systems is that their formal aim is to achieve what is in the public interest.

11. What is in the Public Interest - However difficult it might be to find out what the "public interest" may concretely refer to, the term nevertheless, conveys the idea of a "general" (as opposed to "sectoral") orientation and seems therefore to be important and significant. Furthermore, there is good evidence that the image of "public interest", as held in good faith by the major policymakers, has a tremendous influence on the public policymaking process and is therefore, at least (though not only) as conceived by the various

public policymaking units, a "real" phenomenon and an important operational tool for the study of policy-making.[35]

12. By the Best Possible Means - Public policymaking formally aims not only at achieving what is in "the public interest", but at doing so by the best possible means. In abstract terminology, public policymaking aims at achieving the maximum net benefit (public interest achieved less cost of achievement). Benefits and costs take in part the form of realized values and impaired values respectively, and cannot in most cases be expressed in commensurable units. Often, quantitative techniques are neither the qualitative significance of "maximum net benefits" as an aim. Moreover, the necessity to think broadly about alternative public policies, in terms of benefits and costs is therefore reduced.

Dror states that, "these twelve main characteristics of policymaking are largely shared with other related processes, especially with decision-making, which is a broader concept and includes policymaking with planning which is also a species of decision-making often overlaping policymaking. Sometimes planning is a major means of policymaking characterized by being relatively more structured, explicit, systematic and presuming to be more rational".[36] Attempting to analyze the process of policymaking, involves a great deal of research of the organizational structure which formulates policy.

Educational Policymaking Paradigm

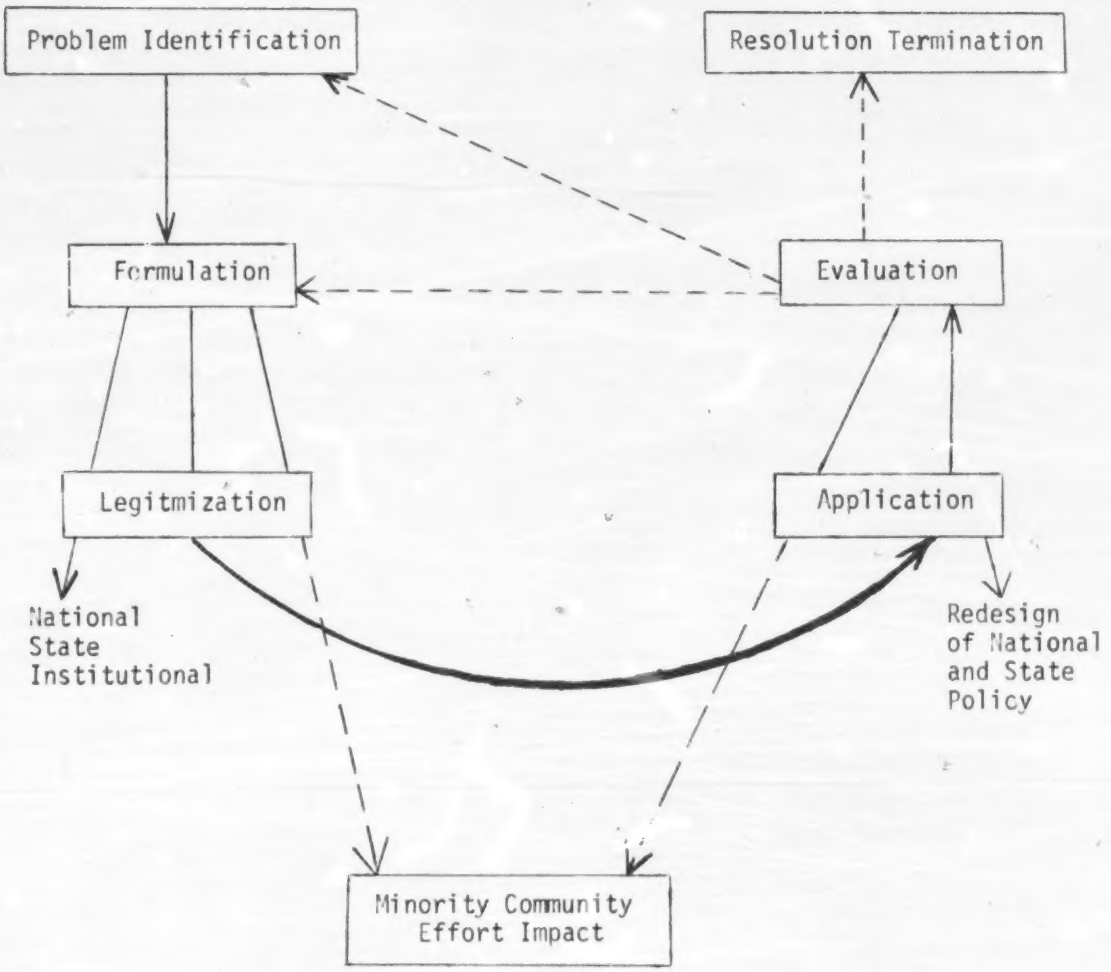

Figure 1 This paradigm shifts the readers attention along a linear direct path that requires the reader to associate the process with those theories that condition the processes substantive output.

MINORITY COMMUNITY CONCERNS

Educational policy has been the focus of what will and will not occur in schools located in minority communities. This section of the paper will indicate the third component in this tripartite relationship among public policy, educational policy and minority community concerns. More specifically, it will examine the role of social science research on policy development and what can be done in order to make educational policy more responsive to minority community concerns.

Social Science Research

In the Brown decision,[37] it was unanimously held by the Supreme Court that public school segregation denied black children the equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment when based solely on race and permitted or required by law. Although formally binding, the decision was not self enforcing. This provided the impetus for Brown II in 1955. Rather than having a remedy which was uniform, the Court endorsed a "practical flexibility" approach to meet local school diversity. The task of policing and evaluating school authority's efforts was left to the lower federal courts.

For more than a decade after the Brown decisions, the expectations were operationally thwarted by the "all deliberate speed" effort. In 1964, Green v. New Kent County School Board,[38] the Court overturned a plan that allowed all students to choose among public schools. Additionally, in 1971, Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education,[39] the Court concluded that district-wide desegregation using extensive busing, if

necessary, was an appropriate remedy in cities with previously dual systems. However, it was not until 1973, that the Supreme Court would consider Northern school problems in Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado.[40] In this case, it was held that "intentional" segregation, whether or not imposed by statute, was unconstitutional.

Since the Brown decisions, social science research has become fundamental in the determination of educational policy. With this in mind, minority communities have caucused to dispell some mistruths raised by this research. There are several examples which could be raised. However, we will use desegregation and social science research as one such example of how educational policy is determined by the use of selected social science research.

Minority communities need to be cognizant of how policymakers are using selected social science research as a basis for far-reaching and significant legal and policymaking decisions. This trend for minority communities is a tacit recognition of Emile Durkeim's contention that institutions (in this instance, that of education) can and do shape our behavior in very predictable ways also referred to as the power of "social facts".[41] Such examples which do not objectively recognize the limits of social science research and have had direct influence on educational policy, are the familiar works of (Armor, Jencks, Coleman, Jensen, Eysench, Herrnstein, Shockley)[42] and others. These works range from methodological problems to the mis-utilization of data which have culminated in unjustifiable educational policy inferences. To go into an elaborate discussion of their works would only add to their national recognition. Thus, we only mention them.

Additionally, some scholars have reached global conclusions on the basis of hastily contrived data. Interestingly, such research data has been limited to minority learners and specific variables that are indigeneous to those geographical areas. Thus, some of the research contain substantially different findings resulting in a confusing spectrum of evaluation which is many times indiscriminatly bought at face value by policymakers.

At a time when social science research has the attention of educational policymakers, it is tempting for social scientists to become overzealous in generalizing the significance of their findings.[43]

Effectuating Change

The schools belong to the public and the public supports them. It logically follows that the public is the authority to which educators are finally accountable for the manner in which they discharge their public trust.[44] When there is a breakdown in communication or there is "benign neglect" of community concerns, then cooperation between educational leaders (policymakers) and community erodes.

Therefore, what can be done is to make educational policy more responsive to the expressed needs and concerns of minority communities. It seems to us that first the minority community (individually and collectively) must become actively involved and knowledgeable of educational policy and its direct affect on the minority community. With knowledge of the community, minorities are in a good position to cause change and help educational policymakers set and achieve the goal of increasing effectiveness in making and implementing decisions concerning improvement in the quality of educa-

tion for the minority community.

If we view the educational policymaker as a physician examining a patient, we should take a clinical approach to analyzing the minority community's anatomy, i.e., its systems (both formal and informal) and how they are linked. As a specialist in planned educational change, the policymaker should examine the community system and the respective elements to determine the need and how those identified needs interface with the community concerns being raised. Then collectively, the educational policymaker and community arrive at a diagnosis. The next step is to proceed by initiating and facilitating action with and through the community and education system. As educational change agents, the minority community can improve the quality of education offered. In the absence of this, the majority group policymakers will continue to fecklessly foster <u>their</u> own policies with only a cursory consideration of minority concerns.

The next option is to maintain an open line of communication with local, state, and national representatives in government. You may say, this is following a process that has not produced much speedy success among minorities, and I concur. However, a further response to that is minorities must continue to be schizoid to the extent of being able to work both within and outside the system for that is <u>political</u> survival.

Although it can be tardy, slow, and costly, a third option is the utilization of the judicial process.

Next, minority communities need to be concerned about research. Emphasis should be placed on community good, rather than for researchers' private amusement. Improving minority community life through policy will require disruptive and revolutionary research from time to time <u>versus</u>

policy research tending to be centripetal (safe and recognized criteria, e.g. those dealing with sample adequacy are important, but insufficient). In short, standard criteria will produce standard research which is probably satisfying to the intended policymaker audience.

Fifth, the claim that "schools don't make a difference" can not be substantiated by a community, minority or majority. It is a cop-out. Even the most sophisticated multiple-regression techniques are inadequate to the task of ferreting out the causes of educational achievement from cross-sectional data. The school is one of few (if not the only) vehicle available for minorities to gain a fair share of the pie.[45] Gone are the late 60's when you could "sell woof tickets" and be handed a piece of that pie. If one looks at the results of the 15 year effort[46] by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Objectives (IEA) on a macro-level, surely there are meaningful implications for minority community education in these United States (micro and macro-levels).

Sixth, for those researchers in the minority community, it is incumbent upon those individuals to begin and continuously conduct empirical research and to synthesize other research (such as IEA, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and others) critically, and put it in a more useable form for community and policymakers. This step is not in lieu of but, an addition to rebutting those social scientist who are committed to the intellectual degradation of minorities.

Although the steps outlined here are listed separately, it is envisioned that in order to have a direct and significant impact upon the educational policymaking process, members of the minority community and its supporters, must take these steps and others simultaneously in order to have the greatest influence on the system.

SUMMARY

In summation this paper has provided the reader with an overview of policymaking and analyzed educational policy formulation. Additionally, the format of this paper has been designed to explore educational policy from a generalized perspective and look critically at:

1. The policymaking process.
2. Models of policymaking with referral to a definition of specific policymaking theories, e.g., elite theory, group theory, and rational theory.
3. The role social science research plays in educational policy development.
4. Concerns minority communities should have in relation to steps necessary in order to make educational policy more responsive to minority community concerns.

The present policymaking set up prevents structural change in many public school districts that have a large number of minorities being served. It is not by accident that minorities are not afforded a positive and high quality educational experience but by design.

For those minorities and sensitive majority group members who are in crucial policymaking positions, it is imperative that the struggle for more equitable policies (translated into viable, need-oriented, and relevant curriculae) continue. Policy makers do initiate policy, veto policy and influence significant others to develop policy, based on social science research. It is therefore incumbent upon these individuals to critically analyze historical and contemporary social science research data and the implications of that data for providing educational oppor-

tunities for not only majority group children, but also for the countless number of minority group children.

We have concluded that social science research has played an integral part in the development of educational policies since the Brown decisions. Interestingly enough, at that time the federal government sought researcher's data in order to legitimize the integration process and put an end to the "separate but equal" doctrine established in Plessy. Now, researchers argue that money does not make a difference in the ability of schools to provide quality education which is an attempt to withdraw support for further accountability legislation.[47] The aforementioned examples are to remind the reader that educational (social science) research is sometimes objective, subjective, rational, irrational, and often times political and racist.[48]

Sensitive and committed policymakers must serve as catalysts to bring about the necessary changes at the national, state, regional, and local levels that have a profound influence on minority childrens' education. Likewise, minority community members are not absolved of their responsibility. It is necessary that these individuals play an active role by identifying community goals and developing cooperative strategies in order to attain these goals.

1. Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 482 (1954)

2. Golembiewski and Cohen (eds.), People in Public Service, Itaska, Ill., P. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1970, p. 123.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 124.

5. Golembiewski and Cohen, op. cit., p. 124.

6. Dean L. Yarwood (ed.), The National Administrative System; Selected Readings, New York: John Wiley & Sons Ind., U.S., 1971, pp. 235-247.

7. Ibid., p. 236.

8. Ibid., p. 244.

9. Golembiewski and Cohen, op. cit., p. 99.

10. Ibid., p. 87.

11. Ibid., p. 77.

12. Ibid., p. 77.

13. Ibid.

14. Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy, Boston: The Rand Corporation, 1976, p. 76.

15. Ibid., p. 75.

16. Ibid., pp. 9-11. (The concept of active vs. latent, along with several other concepts utilized in this discussion, is drawn from J. G. Marsh and H. S. Simon's, Organizations.)

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18. David G. Carter and J. John Harris III, "The Socio-Political System of the School: Revisited", Planning and Changing, Summer 1975, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 112-119.

19. Emory, op. cit., p. 487.

20. Thomas R. Dye, Understanding Public Policy, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972, pp. 17-37.

21. Ibid., p. 17.

22. Ibid., p. 35.

23. Ibid., p. 20.

24. Ibid., pp. 20-22.

25. Ibid., pp. 23-26.

26. Ibid., p. 132.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., p. 27.

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31. Harmon A. Baldwin, School Law and the Indiana Teacher, Bloomington: Beanblossom Publishing Company, 1975, p. 11.

32. Ibid., p. 12.

33. AASA, Profiles of the Administrative Team, Washington, D.C.: American Association of School Administrators, 1971, p. 20.

34. Ibid., p. 21.

35. Yehezkel Dror, Public Policymaking Reexamined, Scranton, Pa.: Chandler Publishing Company, 1968, p. 12-16.

36. Ibid., p. 17.

37. Brown v. Board of Education (I), 347 U.S. 483 (1954)
(II), 349 U.S. 294 (1955)

38. Green v. New Kent County School Board, 391 U.S.430 (1968)

39. Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1971)

40. Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado, 413 U.S. 189 (1973)

41. Steven I. Miller and Jack Kavanaugh, "Empirical Evidence," Journal of Law and Education, January, 1975, pp. 159-171.

42. David J. Armor, "The Evidence on Busing", The Public Interest, Summer, 1972, pp. 90-126; and "School and Family Effects on Black and Whie Achievement: A Reexamination of the USOE Data", in Frederick Mosteller and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., On Equality of Educational Opportunity, New York: Random House, 1972; Christopher Jencks, Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, New York: Basic Books, 1972; James S. Coleman, et al., Equality of Educational Opportunity Report, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966; James S. Coleman, "Racial Segregation in the Schools", Phi Delta Kappan, October, 1975, pp. 75-78; Arthur P. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 39, 1969, pp. 36-123; Arthur P. Jensen, Educability and Group Differences, New York: Harper and Row, 1973; H.J. Eysenchk, The IQ Argument, Freeport, N.Y.: Library Press, 1972; William Shockley, "Dysgenics, Geneticity, Raceology", Phi Delta Kappan,January 1972, pp. 297-307.

43. David G. Carter and J. John Harris III, "Brown Revisited", Phi Delta Kappan, April 1976, Vol. 57, No. 8, p. 491.

44. Carter and Harris, op. cit., p. 115.

45. For your further edification, see Robert W. Terry, For Whites Only, Grand Rapids, Michigan: W.B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1970.

46. Alan C. Purves and Daniel M. Levine (ed.), Educational Policy and International Assessment: Implications of the IEA Surveys of Achievement, Berkeley: McCutcheon Publishing Company, 1975.

47. In terms of accountability and implications for future teacher and school system liability, see the Peter Doe case and more recently, a suit being brought by the parents of an 18-year old high school graduate in Lindenhurst, New Jersey, claiming their son can only read and write on a fourth grade level.

48. Frank Brown, "Problems and Promises of Urban Public Schools", Journal of Negro Education, Summer 1975, Vol. XLIV, No. 3, p. 255.